

DISCONTENT

"MOTHER OF PROGRESS"

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VOL. IV. NO. 7.

HOME, WASH., WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1901.

WHOLE NO. 163.

LABOR DAY.

What signifies this proudful holiday?

Is it merely for a pageantry of slaves
To masquerade in freedom's flattering garb,
And thus their greedy masters show
The fullness of their mighty strength,
Which on the hopeful morrow they will deftly
weave

And weld and fashion into demeaning luxu-
ries

That busy idleness may voluptuously revel
In the pomp and power of mastership assumed?

Is it to have this gracefully winding throng
Along the applauding streets, like a weary
worm,

Slowly crawl to some sequestered spot of velvet
green

For all too brief but restful hours
And there its worn and calloused body fill—
Its brawny, bruised and buffeted body—
With the glorious vigor of impartial nature,
Which glad sufficiency gives to all who may
partake,

And on the disappointing morrow be as bait
For the fishers of treasures unearned?

Is it to corral the finest of the human herd
In proud review and march them gaily forth
Before the censorious eyes of the complaisant
rich,

So the noble unruly may be secretly marked
As victims for the industrial ax?

They who have an amplitude of charity and
stern good will

To cover all like richly pregnant dew
May enjoy the luxury of trusting these rueful
thoughts untrue.

From the vertex of a kindly hope
I view it as a day of joyful futherance
Of the age of golden dreams—

The dream of the Nazarene craftsman that we
do to others as we would others do to us;
The Confucian dream of not doing to others
what we would not have done us;

The dream of Paul, when he who will not
work shall not eat;

The Aurelian dream, that none will meddle
with the affairs of others;

The dream of the commandments: Thou shalt
not steal; thou shalt not kill;

And the dreams of the dreamers of all ages
(To whom in sweet comradeship I doff my
liberty cap),

When justice, freedom, fraternity shall be as
common as grass,

And as teemful as the sun;

When savage swords and guns shall refuse to
fulfill their wanton aim;

When greedy strife from shame itself shall
hide its vulgar head;

When the weary sower may merrily reap;

When the glad reaper may surely have;

When the rightful owner may enjoy to the full;

When wisdom be the spirit of manual toil;

When useful work alone will indicate nobility;

When the enjoyment of riches evidences the
flowering of desertful effort.

It will be Labor Day indeed
When the rich become richer in righteousness;

When the poor become poorer in denied oppor-
tunities;

When the strong become stronger in succor;

When the weak become weaker in wretched-
ness;

When the wise become wiser in wisdom.

These thoughts today bud and blossom
In the garden of my optimistic heart.

JOSEPH A. LABADIN.

SHALL FREE SPEECH BE STRAN- GLED?

Every mail brings letters of encour-
agement in our fight for a free press.
It seems as if people all over the coun-
try were at last awakening to a realizing
sense of the monstrous significance of
the press censorship. This is a critical
point in the contest for liberty of the

press. The enemies of progress are en-
deavoring to make capital out of the
present epoch of madness, and to gain
from it the leverage they need, in order
to carry out their long cherished pur-
pose of crushing all who dare to tell the
truth about existing social conditions.
The onslaught on DISCONTENT is an ex-
periment, to find out how much the peo-
ple will stand, and how far popular ig-
norance and prejudice can be counted
on to back the haters of all liberty in
their nefarious attempt to stifle all
honest expression of opinion. If they
succeed in this signal piece of infamy,
it will be the initiatory step in such an
outburst of persecution as this land has
never before witnessed. All who dare
to set one foot outside the rut of the
most blind and slavish conservatism
will be marked for the lash. It will not
save them nor serve them to disclaim
fellowship with "Anarchists and free-
lovers." These are bearing the brunt of
the battle now; but the real assault is
against the principle of free speech, and
all who favor progress or change in any
form. Socialists, Agnostics, Mental Sci-
entists, Spiritualists, formers of cooper-
ative societies or colonies, Labor Ex-
changers—all who presume to think for
themselves along any line, or seek to
better the condition of humanity in any
respect, are already marked out for as-
sault. The time to resist is now, at the
very outset of the struggle. Let a thor-
oughly aroused Liberalism beat back
the rising tide of encroachments on hu-
man liberty.

Do not minimize the danger. It is al-
ready here. These are no vain imagin-
ings. The influences back of the pres-
ent prosecution openly boast of what
they will do, in the event of its success.
Even if you are not interested in Dis-
CONTENT, you may take a vital interest
in the next victim of postal tyranny, if
indeed you are not that victim yourself.
Conviction in this case will make other
convictions more easy. In such cases
as this all should stand together. The
principle involved is of infinitely greater
consequence than any consideration of
personality. I would work for even my
worst enemy in a case like this; and so
would anybody who has the cause of
Liberalism really at heart.

Never mind how strongly you may be
opposed to Anarchy. This is not an
Anarchist fight, but a contest for free
speech. You surely do not wish to ad-
mit that only Anarchists are interested
in so sacred a principle as that of the
liberty of the press. Indeed, if you are
an honest governmentalist, here is your
opportunity to do yeoman service for
your cause. It is the government that
is on trial in this instance, on the
charge of committing wilful aggression
on the right of free speech. To clear its
skirts, will require hard work, and is
worthy of your utmost effort. Make it
manifest to all that the courts of our
land stand for equal and exact justice,
and that even an Anarchist is fully pro-

tected in his rights by them. From
your own standpoint, this ought to seem
no trifling matter. If one school of
propaganda is to be molested, simply
because its opinions are offensive to
those in power, no other school or indi-
vidual is safe. The more sincerely you
believe that liberty is possible under
government, the more anxious you
should be to demonstrate the truth of
what you believe; and the more deter-
minedly should you resist the threat-
ened conversion of the republic into an
empire.

The present contest, then, is one of
equal concern to sincere Anarchists and
honest governmentalist. Only a mind
reeking with pollution, and eagerly
sniffing for intellectual garbage, could
even pretend to trace obscenity in the
articles complained of. The language is
as clean as any that has ever found its
way into print. If the law is honestly
interpreted, the charge cannot stick for
a moment. Even the law as it now
stands does not countenance the arrest
of individuals for the mere expression
of unconventional or unpopular opin-
ions. The Comstock law is bad and in-
vasive enough, in all conscience; but
this insidious attempt to stretch it far
beyond its plain purport, and to estab-
lish a precedent which would utterly ob-
literate the constitutional guarantee of
free speech and liberty of the press, is
infinitely worse, and needs to be
promptly nipped in the bud.

A thorough public exposure is what is
needed, to drive the enemies of intel-
lectual honesty to cover. Liberal edi-
tors and writers can help greatly in this
fight, which is really theirs just as
much as it is ours. Get posted on the
details of the case; and make the wel-
kin ring with your indignant protests
against the nefarious effort to wipe out
free speech in this country. Meantime,
the main brunt of the battle for your
liberties must be borne by the com-
rades under indictment. They are put
to heavy expense for extra printing,
postage, counsel fees and incidental ne-
cessities. If this bitter struggle is to be
crowned with an epoch-making victory,
the "sinews of war" must not be lack-
ing. A defence committee has been
formed, to raise funds, and help carry
on the work. The treasurer is Oliver A.
Verity, Home, Wash., to whom remit-
tances should be made. Other communi-
cations relative to the case will receive
prompt attention if sent to me at the
same address, or to any of the indicted
comrades. Do not let the matter slip
out of your mind, without taking such
action as may be in your power. The
time is short between now and Febru-
ary; the need is urgent; and it is a time
for each of us to do his part.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

The populace think that your rejec-
tion of popular standards is a rejection
of all standard. But the law of con-
sciousness abides.—Emerson.

THE MENACE TO LIBERTY.

It must be a matter of profound regret
to the imperialists, who are now trying
to make the anarchistic scare a leverage
for prying up the essentials of liberty in
this country, that the "alien and sedi-
tion laws" are not still in force. But those
laws did not last long, and they ruined
the Federalist party, which was respon-
sible for them. Though that party was
as dominant in 1798 as the Republican
party is today, and was as confident of
remaining in power, it met inglorious
defeat in 1800.

* * * * *
Only when the public peace is broken
by print or speech, or when private
rights are assailed or common morals
defied, must government be allowed in
any way to interfere with speaking and
writing. The right to express opinions
must remain inviolate. That is the
American principle. That is one of the
essentials of liberty which our fathers
won and we inherit.

Should the unpatriotic effort now
making to destroy this inheritance suc-
ceed, should conspiracy against the per-
son of the president be made treason,
and the right of free speech be abol-
ished, it will be for no other reason than
the ignorance of the masses of the peo-
ple. Not ignorance of reading and writ-
ing, not of the things that would give
the right to vote under educational
tests, not ignorance even of history in
respect to its incidents. Not ignorance
of those kinds. But an ignorance far
more dangerous to the commonwealth,
an ignorance which the learned share
with the illiterate—ignorance of the
lessons which the history of Anglo-
Saxon struggles for liberty teach. This
kind of history is not taught in our
schools. If it were, free speech, free
press, free assembly, and security from
prosecution for constructive treason
would be as dear to the hearts of the
people now as they were to those who
fought for our independence, who framed
our constitution, and who, in over-
whelming numbers, overrode those ear-
liest attempts at anti-Anarchist legisla-
tion which holds an infamous place in
our political history under the name of
the alien and sedition laws.

Conspiracies to overturn the govern-
ment by force are already punishable as
every lawyer knows. Seditious publica-
tions promoting such conspiracies are
punishable if an overt act be commit-
ted. That, also, every lawyer knows.
Libels upon officials or candidates are
punishable if both false and malicious.
Writings and speeches advising crime
are likewise punishable. So is every
other crime with which Anarchists are
charged. These laws should be en-
forced. But further than that the law
cannot go with safety to free govern-
ment.

To go further is to involve society in
greater dangers than the most virulent

Continued on page 4.

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tent, Home, Pierce County, Wash.

OFF AND ON.

From every part of the country come letters and newspaper clippings, telling the same story of persecution and a systematic attempt to suppress free speech. The evidence continues to pour in of a determined and gigantic conspiracy to destroy what have hitherto been considered the surest safeguards of American liberty. A few illustrations have been given in these columns. To detail all that have been reported would completely fill the paper, and would present a dreary and sickening record of the brutality and barbarism lying beneath the surface of modern civilization. But some at least of these cases have come under the notice of every reader of *Discontent*. It is only their significance which may not have been patent to all. Under the pretence that a great social danger exists, a plot is on foot to Russinize the United States. And it is in the name of loyalty that this monstrous treason is to be consummated!

Consider the circumstances. A man has been assassinated. There is unfortunately nothing new in this. Thousands of men are murdered every year in this country—many of them more foully and cruelly than this man. Yet not all their deaths combined have created such intense excitement as that of this single individual. It seems to have evoked the worst passions that can be called into being. It has turned men into wild beasts, lusting for the blood of their fellows. To signify their horror at one murder, they are ready to commit a thousand. In their indignation at the suggestion that this is not a perfectly free country, they are eager to sap the foundations of whatever liberty exists here. In their zeal to demonstrate that all men are equal before the law, they are doing their utmost to increase the gulf between a president and other men who are theoretically his equals. In the name of the Declaration of Independence, they are prepared to abrogate all the guarantees of individual liberty contained in that document. In order to uphold the sanctity of the constitution, they propose to violate its clearest provisions in behalf of free speech and the liberty of the press. While loudly proclaiming that the majesty of the law is all sufficient to shelter the righteous and chastise the wicked, they summon the fury of the delirious mob to attack persons who differ from them in opinion. They try to cure people of discontent, by denying them even the small relief of complaint and protest. They seek to prove the beneficence of government, by rendering it the instrument of a tyranny greater than any of which even Anarchists have previously accused it. They would illustrate their contention that this country is a refuge for the oppressed, by denying a shelter to those who need it most. Without stopping to inquire what Anarchism really is, they

froth at the mouth at the bare mention of the name, and would hound to the death all who call themselves by the hated name. And yet they profess the most unbounded astonishment, when they find that many men and women strangely fail to see the civilization or humanity of such performances! These doughty champions of "law and order," including many preachers and editors, cannot grasp the idea that they themselves, in their brutish barbarism, form the most terrible indictment against the system they are striving to uphold. A state of society which breeds men by the million so warped and undeveloped that any excitement straightway throws them off their balance, and renders them so utterly deaf and blind to reason and justice that they thirst for the blood of thousands of their fellows, who are not even to be allowed a word in their own defence, carries with it its own condemnation.

If there were the slightest trace of honesty or sincerity in the claim that the crusade against Anarchy is prompted by a desire for public security it would be directed against the terrorists of every school, and would not meddle with peaceful propagandists. Instead of this, its main force is found to be directed against philosophic Anarchists, whose whole teachings have always been opposed to violence, and against Socialists, whose political methods not even the rankest conservatism could pronounce a whit less legitimate than those of the Republican and Democratic parties. This makes it abundantly clear that the real animus of these venomous attacks is nothing less than a bitter hatred of free speech, and of all teachings which make for social progress in any direction. It is the old, old story of the ceaseless strife between ignorance and advancing knowledge, brute force and education, prejudice and reason, the darkness and the light. Our old friend of the triple tiara and the cloven hoof is distinctly in his element, and is finding many guileless assistants in his wonted task of riveting chains for the human mind. A recent straw is the rotten egging of Socialist speakers by "patriotic" ruffians in the streets of San Francisco, and the praise meted out to the hoodlums by the *Call*, a "respectable" capitalist daily of that city. Capitalism has indeed sunk to depths unspeakable, when it can meet arguments only with eggs as rotten as the system which inspires things that were once men to resort to such base methods in its behalf.

Another exceedingly significant and ominous procedure is the refusal of second class postal rates to *The Challenge*, a Socialist paper published in New York. Its editor, H. G. Wilshire, has had some difficulty in learning the exact grounds of the discrimination against him. It appears, however, that the postal autocrats do not consider the paper "of sufficient public interest," and that they think the editor has too much to say about himself. If this outrage is suffered to pass, it will be possible to shut every radical and reform paper out of the mails. Fortunately, Wilshire has more money than most radicals, and will not give up his rights without a tussle. Here's hoping he may win out, and that the incident may

teach him something of the despotic nature of governmentalism.

The Malthusians, or Neo Malthusians, have another inning in this issue; but no new points are raised. Our claim is that the "tendency of population to outrun subsistence, if a fact at all, is due to the excessive propagation resultant from abnormal and vicious social conditions, and that the establishment of decent conditions will cure the evil, just as surely as it will cure the parallel evil of intemperance, which the Prohibitionist, following the argument and methods of the Neo Malthusians, would have us attack directly. No evidence has yet been adduced to controvert this position.

Comrade Schellhous opens up a line of thought which would require pages and pages for its proper handling. All I shall attempt to do this time will be to skim the surface a little, and to notice a few of the points that have been raised.

I did not charge our comrade with upholding the Calvinistic theology, but with propounding a doctrine which, if logically carried out, would prove identical with the dogma of original sin. He holds that there are two antipodal elements in man, contending with each other for the mastery of his being. I maintain that there is but one fundamental element, manifesting itself in an infinity of ways; that the "selfish and sensuous desires" and the "moral and spiritual forces" spring from the same root, and are of like substance; that the one set are not to be constantly restrained by the other, but evolved into them. Applying the same principles to society, Comrade Schellhous believes in the necessity of government, for the restraint of the "lower" elements by the "higher;" while I am convinced that under normal social conditions, there will be no fixed grades, but a gradual and harmonious evolution from the less developed to the more developed, with which government seriously interferes. When I point out the conclusions that follow logically from the position taken by our comrade, I do not necessarily accuse him of accepting these conclusions. I merely point out the fact that if he carried out his principles to their logical results, he would be led to accept them. Hence I do not misrepresent him, "unintentionally" or otherwise.

Monism implies the existence of a single underlying force or principle in nature, of which everything that exists is a manifestation, in one phase or another of development. Whether this principle be conceived as material, spiritual or of some nature not understood, the essential deductions remain substantially the same. Man's environment consists of the sum total of all the conditions which surround him, and of all the forces which operate on him. Unless man is supposed to have created himself, and to be veritably self-existent, he must be regarded as the creature of his environment, (which term includes his heredity,) whether that environment be regarded as blind or intelligent. His so-called "innate" feelings, his tastes and desires, his faculties and powers, his will itself, are race as well as individual acquisitions, and the products of past conditions. All that is around us becomes a part of ourselves, and influ-

ences our thoughts, feelings, desires and actions. Hence a bad social environment will always produce inharmonious individuals; and a good social environment will stimulate the development of a much higher type of individuals.

That "government is the negation of individuality" is evidenced by the entire course of its history. Its whole tendency is, always has been and from its very nature always must be, in the direction of a forced uniformity, which certainly is "necessarily destructive of individuality." It is not necessary to deny that government does certain things for the individual today. It certainly ought to do so, since it prevents him from doing these very things and a great many other things for himself. It is rather amusing to read that "our own government has protected us from the domination of ecclesiastical tyranny, by declaring in its constitution that no system of religion shall be established by law." That is as much as to say that a brigand who decides not to kill you becomes thereby your savior from murder. If there were no government, there would be no need of a constitutional guarantee, since there would be no danger of having a system of religion "established by law." As it is, the pledge is by no means kept. With church property exempted from taxation in every state in the union; parasitic chaplains in the army, navy, congress, legislatures and public institutions, supported at public expense; more or less obnoxious and invasive Sunday and blasphemy laws on the statute books of most of the states; religious fasts and festivals officially proclaimed; religion taught in many of the public schools; religious oaths prescribed in law courts and to public officials; religious features engrafted on public ceremonials; legislation sought and often granted on avowedly religious grounds; it looks as if "our own government" were not protecting us very extensively from "the domination of ecclesiastical tyranny." As for *Discontent's* need of money as a "medium of exchange," the need is an artificial one, created by governmental conditions. We do not need a government for the carriage of the mails, any more than for the establishment of any other industry. We have an excellent bridge right here at Home, built purely by voluntary cooperation, without any governmental feature whatever, and are gradually opening up streets by the same means.

I am surprised to find Comrade Schellhous denying that government is the product of evolution. I should have expected him rather to rely on the fact as a prop to his argument. If he will look a little deeper he will realize that evolution signifies the totality of the cosmic forces, of which "human agency" is simply one manifestation, governed, like other manifestations, by immutable laws. Men have evolved into government from something lower; and they will evolve out of it into something higher. Government stands for a forced homogeneity; while evolution represents an increasing heterogeneity. It is easy to see which must ultimately give way. I said: It "will require no very exalted spiritual attainment," to lead men to act rationally under rational conditions. The misquotation makes quite a difference to the argument.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

A REJOINDER.

In Vol. IV, No. 1, of DISCONTENT (which was mislaid for two weeks) I find some comments on my reply to Comrade Ballou by Comrade Morton which needs a little explanation. I am pleased to know that so well informed and able a writer feels that my reply "ought not to pass without present comment." The more the subject is discussed in a fair spirit the better it may be understood; and it needs to be understood, as I think no one will deny.

Let it be understood, once for all, that Comrade Morton and I have in mind the same end—the elevation and betterment of mankind; the difference is the method of accomplishment. But in treating of that there must be a common ground upon which we both agree. But I ask, when he accuses me of clinging to the exploded theological delusion "in opposition to scientific monism," do we agree? I am so far away from that "most hideous of all the odious Calvinistic creeds" as he is, and when he bases his comments on that he shoots wide of the mark. Because I recognize selfish and sensuous feelings he takes occasion to say "there is no hard and fast line between selfish and sensuous feeling and moral and spiritual forces." None is claimed.

To say there is no difference between these forces is to say there is no difference among men. To the careful observer it is readily seen that there are feelings which prompt man to seek the means for subsistence and comfort, and other feelings which call into action efforts to satisfy his sensuous desires in the pursuit of pleasure. Now, it is evident that when these feelings are stronger than the sense of justice and concern for the wellbeing of his fellow men, he will yield to the prompting of his stronger feelings. No doubt Comrade Morton has seen such men. It is needless to say there are others, however few, who manifest a lively desire to aid others in distress and sympathize with the oppressed and disinherited, as Comrade Morton does. When in one the sense of justice and concern for others' wellbeing are the stronger feelings he will yield to their prompting. This is a universal law of human conduct; no one can escape it. This is my ground. Comrade Morton denies it, and places himself on the ground of "scientific monism" which he does not explain. There are two theories of monism; the one assumes that matter only exists in the universe; the other that spirit only exists; neither of which explains the phenomena of nature nor the cause of human conduct. As evidence that he misapprehends my ground, he says:

"The forces of nature, infinitely more potent than the imagined 'free will' of the individual, perpetually play upon him and mold his disposition."

I said nothing about "free will" as it is generally understood; and I repudiate the dogma. He implies that I endorse it, which unintentionally misrepresents me.

As a basic element of his science (monism, I presume,) he sets out with this: "Man is, indeed, in the fullest sense, the creature of his environment." What is environment? It consists of conditions in which man is placed, and of the things that surround him. Now, if he is the creature of these things must be forces or they could not act. A crea-

ture is a thing created. Creation is the result of action. Then environment must be a power per se—a creative power, having conscious intelligence and design; for creation implies a purpose. Is it not true that the germs of the feelings are innate, and are developed by exercise; that environments are acted upon rather than acting; that they are means rather than agencies? Food, raiment, shelter are environments, but they do not act. Government, institutions and social conditions are environments, but they do not act. All of these are means provided for the satisfaction of desires; they are systems designed and created for man's wellbeing. They have no conscious power; they are not causes. The molding causes are within the individual, and upon the environments.

"From the foregoing considerations," says Comrade Morton, "each one of which can be thoroughly demonstrated not only by metaphysics, but from a strict scientific standpoint, it ought to be self evident that the ideal social environment is that which affords the widest opportunity for the full development of all the individuals within its scope." Well, so it ought if the environment is a creative power. Upon what ground does he say that "government is the negation of individuality"? Government is in the nature of a contract; a contract does not nullify the parties to it. That existing governments are principally means of exploitation is not denied; but that it is necessarily destructive of individuality is by no means a necessary sequence. Even our own government has protected us from the domination of ecclesiastical tyranny, by declaring in its constitution that no system of religion shall be established by law. It secures to us a mail service that is indispensable even under Anarchy, and a medium of exchange which DISCONTENT calls for and is needful for its publication. Because means may be employed for a bad purpose it does not necessarily follow that they are essentially bad.

"It is urged in behalf of authoritarian institutions," says Comrade Morton, "that government itself is an evolutionary product." Is it not a product of human agency? This word evolution has a very deep significance, that is beyond the grasp of human comprehension. How it acts, or what is the nature of its force, no one knows, nor in social evolution, how much of human agency, if any, is involved. Then to say that government is the product of evolution is untenable. Government is a means devised and employed and designed to satisfy human needs; but selfish, unscrupulous and ambitious men, taking advantage of the ignorance, credulity and conscious sense of weakness of the masses who seek for leadership and guidance, elevate themselves in power and authority. Are not "government, cannibalism, war, feudalism and chattel slavery" the products of human agency? It is true that evolution has to do with mental conditions—the slow but sure grinding of the gods; but it seems certain that government is the product of human agency.

"Common action will always be found most desirable for a great many purposes," says our comrade. "This, however, does not necessarily imply the need of 'regulation' or of authority."

But there are other purposes that must need regulation, which in some form is government. A bridge, a highway, a school, mail service are in so far government. "Self interest itself is sufficiently potent to produce all the cooperation required for common needs," says he. But government interferes, he objects; yet it is founded on self interest which it, in its true sense, is designed to regulate. He continues: "It will require a very exalted spiritual attainment to induce men to deal fairly with one another and join hands for common ends." Here we come together. That "very exalted spiritual attainment" is necessary to provide means to meet these common ends; that is, to regulate the public service. This does not involve "negation of individuality"; it is only a means for the regulation of the wellbeing of all concerned.

There are many other points I would like to notice, but want of space forbids.

E. J. SCHELLHOUTS.

A WORD WITH BOLTON HALL.

Bolton Hall, in DISCONTENT of September 25, says "Malthusianism Dead." It may be; yet he presents no argument to prove it; and while I negate his assertion, and, therefore, am under no obligation to prove a negative, I will say if he would read "The Malthusian," official organ of the Neo Malthusian League, he would be forced to the conclusion that Neo Malthusianism is a very lively corpse to say the least.

He further says that if I was "familiar with the examination of the Malthusian theory in Progress and Poverty," I would not have written the article, in DISCONTENT of August 21, entitled "More Malthusianism." Let me digress here to say that the head to my article was written by the editor of DISCONTENT. Had I written it, it would have read "More About Neo Malthusianism." To resume: I wish to inform Bolton Hall that I am perfectly familiar with Henry George's "examination of Malthusianism." Not to make this too long I will say that Henry George's arguments come under the heading of nine-tenths of the opposition to Neo Malthusianism—the heading of misconceptions. He began his argument without mastering the meaning of the word "tendency." Does Bolton Hall or any other opponent of Neo Malthusianism see that his doctrine on land would apply to the question of reckless and uncontrolled propagation, viz: "That the deity meant that there should be a particular distribution of the land, but that he has not been able to carry out his purpose." Grant this, and, of course, it may follow that the deity arranged human affairs to go right in every other particular, if only he had not been frustrated. But, on such assumptions, science becomes a game of speculation for school girls.

I wonder if Bolton Hall has read Max Nordau's work on "Degeneracy"; and, also, "Elements of Social Science"; if he, or any opponent of Neo Malthusianism, had they could not help seeing that there is a "tendency in all animated existence to increase faster than the means of subsistence." And that "overpopulation is the most fruitful source of pauperism, ignorance, crime and disease."

O. L. James, in DISCONTENT of September 18, says with truth, that "Socialism, with marriage and unlimited

propagation, may do very well to talk, but it won't work." Further on in the same article, after affirming the truth of Neo Malthusianism, he asks the question if we do well in belittling this truth. Most certainly not; for it is through enforced maternity, one of the greatest evils growing out of and a part of overpopulation, that the world is full of failures, and abnormal mentalities, that blossom into assassins and enemies to society. Further, I cannot hold with those who are striving to abolish all government; for restraint is government, at least to the extent of restraint; and these fruits of enforced maternity must ever be in restraint for the safety of the rest of humanity; so there must be government at least for these. Ignorance, poverty and vice must stop populating the world. To accomplish this there is but one way. Science, the only savior of mankind, must put it in the power of woman to decide for herself whether she will or will not become a mother. This frees woman. The babes that are then born will be welcome and devoid of abnormal mentalities, and they will be clasped by glad hands to happy breasts. The time will come when men and women, by reason of their knowledge of consequences, of the morality born of intelligence, will refuse to perpetuate disease and pain—will refuse to fill the world with failures. But this will not be accomplished by ignoring and belittling Neo Malthusianism, but in harmonious action with and an intelligent cooperation with its principles.

ARTHUR C. EVERETT.

MALTHUSIANISM NOT DEAD.

My friend Bolton Hall announces the death of the Malthusian theory. Before we don mourning let us understand whether the deceased is the Malthusian theory of Malthus or the Malthusian theory of his critics. I surmise that it is the latter. The facts observed by the clergyman, and the theory deduced from the facts, gave to Darwin and Wallace the key until then sought for in vain. Whatever it may have been that Mr. George killed it was nothing that was fundamental to the central concept of Malthus. While one half of those born die before reaching maturity we cannot say that Malthus was wrong when he affirmed that population tends to outrun subsistence. Of course it is manifestly impossible for it actually to outrun subsistence. When population is not limited by preventative measures it is limited by positive checks—war, famine, prostitution, infanticide. The total of subsistence is the amount that the race, with its intelligence at the moment, produces. The race-preserving impulse always pushes into existence more than can live to adulthood.

E. C. WALKER.

TREASON AND PATRIOTISM.

The treason of today is the patriotism of tomorrow. It was treason, when the Republicans of 1856 denounced chattel slavery; it was treason at that time to teach a negro to read and write. But where is the majority today on these subjects? It may be treason today to teach the working people that they are entitled to all the wealth their brain and brawn produces; but it will be the patriotism of tomorrow. For it will succeed.—Appeal to Reason.

THE MENACE TO LIBERTY.

Continued from page 1.

Anarchists could possibly contrive. The safety of society demands that discussion shall be free, even though the perpetuation of the government itself be debated. "The right of the people," says Judge Cooley, "to change their institutions at will is expressly recognized by federal and state constitutions, and this implies a right to criticize, discuss and condemn." These rights are essential to freedom of conscience, and free government can rest only upon freedom of conscience.

But, as has been often and truly said, "freedom of conscience must include not only the freedom of belief, but also the freedom of unbelief." It would be absurd to say that we may discuss the wisdom of having this government or that, but must be silent upon the subject of whether government of any kind is just and wise. At this point intelligent and patriotic Americans will agree with Zenker, who, though utterly opposed to Anarchy, has written a judicial and scholarly book on "Anarchism" (published by the Putnams), wherein he says that "the right of freedom of opinion must not be confined merely to the forms of the state; one should be equally free to deny the state itself. Without this extension of principle, freedom of thought is mockery."

For ourselves we disagree with those who deny the state. We believe that their philosophy is unsound. While recognizing its force and accepting its principles in so far as they relate to matters of individual concern, we believe that there are matters of common concern which necessitate government. But if they are to be converted from their views, we hold that it must be done by argument and not by penal laws, by free discussion and not by censorship. We repeat and adopt the patriotic words of Father Thomas E. Cox, of Chicago, uttered at the McKinley memorial meeting in this city last Sunday, when he said: "America symbolizes liberty—freedom of speech, freedom of worship and a free press. If a republic cannot foster these and flourish, it cannot exist at all."—The Public.

POST YOURSELF

The quotations from The Public, in this and the last issue, are extracted from a long article entitled "Landmarks of Liberty," in its issue of September 23. The entire article is of unusual value, and contains a great deal of pertinent historic matter, of exceptional and permanent interest and importance. You really cannot do better than to send for one or more copies (at five cents a copy) of this issue to The Public, Box 687, Chicago, Ill. The issue also contains a remarkably fair sermon on the assassination of McKinley, by Rev. L. M. Powers, of Buffalo, one of the few clergymen who have shown a disposition to be calm and just, during the recent carnival of passion and insanity. There is also a protest against mob violence and despotic legislation, by Judge Amidon, of the United States Court. The Public is a handsome appearing periodical, devoted mainly to the Single Tax propaganda; and this issue is just the thing to pass along to those who might refuse to read an Anarchist paper.

HOME NEWS.

Harry Dadisman is working on his new house.

We have just had a brief visit from Adeline Swain, of Seattle.

Ruby Richardson has gone to Tacoma, to work for a few weeks.

B. D. Wilcox, of Tacoma, spent a couple of days with us, last week.

Mrs. Lindstrom and her daughters have returned to Anderson Island.

Harry and Katie Minor have returned from over a week's absence in Tacoma and Seattle.

Blanche Parker has returned to her home in Pine Island, Minn. We are looking forward to the coming of herself and her husband in the spring, to make their permanent home with us.

The land owned by the Mutual Home Association is located on Von Geldern Cove (known locally as Joes Bay), an arm of Carrs Inlet, and is 13 miles west from Tacoma on an air line, but the steamer route is about 20 miles.

The association is simply a land-holding institution, and can take no part in the starting of an industry. All industries are inaugurated by the members interested and those willing to help them. Streets are not opened yet and we have no sidewalks. Those thinking of coming here must expect to work, as it is not an easy task to clear this land and get it in condition for cultivation. There are 87 people here—24 men, 23 women and 40 children—girls over 15 years 4, boys 3. We are not living communistic, but there is not anything in our articles of incorporation and agreement to prohibit any number of persons from living in that manner if they desire to do so. Those writing for information will please inclose a self-addressed, stamped envelope for reply.

RECEIPTS.

Davidson \$1, Pyburn \$1, Tuft 75c, Gault 50c, Dewey 50c, Eininger 50c, Clauson 50c, Eccleston 25c, Barnes 25c.

Powderly has let the cat out of the bag. It is not the ignorant, illiterate "foreigner" that is dangerous to this country, but the intelligent one is apt to become an Anarchist. The former, Powderly informed President Roosevelt, becomes a "good citizen." It is to be hoped that the Americans will reflect upon this information and feel flattered to be among those who are qualified to be "good citizens." But Powderly is right, although cruelly frank. Ignorance is the bulwark of oppression and exploitation. With the ignorant and indolent subjects governments hardly ever quarrel—except when driven to desperation; but it is the intelligent, independent thinker who annoys the human vampire; and I am not in the least anxious to be thus classified as a "good citizen," but will remain among those who strive for a better world—a world in which no one shall suffer for want of food, shelter or clothing. The Anarchists are a "bad lot," indeed, to have such notions.—Interloper, in Free Society.

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The Independent Debating Club meets every Sunday at 2 p. m. at 909 Market street, San Francisco, Calif. Free discussion. Public invited.



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Articles of Incorporation and Agreement of the Mutual Home Association.

Be it remembered, that on this 17th day of January, 1898, we, the undersigned, have associated ourselves together for the purpose of forming a corporation under the laws of the State of Washington.

That the name of the corporation shall be The Mutual Home Association.

The purpose of the association is to assist its members in obtaining and building homes for themselves and to aid in establishing better social and moral conditions.

The location of this corporation shall be at Home, located on Joes Bay, Pierce County, State of Washington; and this association may establish in other places in this state branches of the same where two or more persons may wish to locate.

Any person may become a member of this association by paying into the treasury a sum equal to the cost of the land he or she may select, and one dollar for a certificate, and subscribing to this agreement.

The affairs of this association shall be conducted by a board of trustees, elected as may be provided for by the by-laws.

A certificate of membership shall entitle the legal holder to the use and occupancy of not less than one acre of land nor more than two (less all public streets) upon payment annually into the treasury of the association a sum equal to the taxes assessed against the tract of land he or she may hold.

All money received from memberships shall be used only for the purpose of purchasing land. The real estate of this association shall never be sold, mortgaged or disposed of. A unanimous vote of all members of this association shall be required to change these articles of incorporation.

No officer, or other person, shall ever be empowered to contract any debt in the name of this association.

All certificates of membership shall be for life.

Upon the death of any member a certificate of membership shall be issued covering the land described in certificate of membership of deceased:

First: To person named in will or bequest.
Second: Wife or husband.
Third: Children of deceased; if there is more than one child they must decide for themselves.

All improvements upon land covered by certificate of membership shall be personal property, and the association as such has no claim thereto.

Any member has the right of choice of any land not already chosen or set aside for a special purpose.

CERTIFICATE OF MEMBERSHIP.
This is to certify that has subscribed to the articles of incorporation and agreement and paid into the treasury of the Mutual Home Association the sum of . . . dollars, which entitles . . . to the use and occupancy for life of lot . . . block . . . as platted by the association, upon complying with the articles of agreement.

SEND 10 CENTS for specimens of 10 liberal papers and 10 tracts, circulars and sample of stocking yarn, or 3 cents for a copy of "Little Free thinker." Elmina Drake Slenker, Snowville, Va.